

Online Appendix

Ends Versus Means: Public Opinion on Congressional Redistricting

Table A1: Sample Demographics

	Democrats					Independents					Republicans				
	Mean	SD	Min	Median	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Median	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Median	Max
Woman	0.59	0.49	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.44	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50	0.50	0.00	0.50	1.00
Age	51.20	17.02	18.00	54.00	87.00	49.23	16.91	18.00	49.00	94.00	54.24	16.69	18.00	57.00	87.00
Race: Black	0.22	0.42	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.09	0.28	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.06	0.24	0.00	0.00	1.00
Race: White	0.59	0.49	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.73	0.44	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.84	0.37	0.00	1.00	1.00
Ethnicity: Hispanic	0.09	0.29	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.06	0.24	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.06	0.25	0.00	0.00	1.00
Religiosity	11.57	4.71	3.00	12.00	18.00	11.34	4.75	3.00	12.00	18.00	8.87	4.15	3.00	8.00	17.00
Ideology	2.13	0.94	1.00	2.00	5.00	3.04	1.04	1.00	3.00	5.00	4.03	0.85	1.00	4.00	5.00
Redistricting Satisfaction	2.60	1.30	1.00	3.00	5.00	2.58	1.16	1.00	3.00	5.00	2.95	1.31	1.00	3.00	5.00
Redistricting Fairness	2.09	0.94	1.00	2.00	4.00	1.93	0.89	1.00	2.00	4.00	2.15	0.92	1.00	2.00	4.00

Table A2: Regression Results – Full Table (Extension of Table 1)

DV: Redistricting Satisfaction (1-5 Scale)				
	1	2	3	4
Election Result: Copartisan Lost	-0.61*** (0.13)	-0.63*** (0.16)	-0.61*** (0.14)	-0.62*** (0.17)
Election Result: Ind Respondent	-0.25* (0.15)	-0.28** (0.14)	-0.26* (0.15)	-0.28** (0.14)
State Leg. Redistricting	0.01 (0.12)	-0.06 (0.12)	0.16 (0.13)	0.13 (0.14)
Redistricting Knowledge: Yes	-0.06 (0.14)	-0.14 (0.14)	0.38 (0.24)	0.36** (0.18)
Ideology		0.08 (0.08)		0.08 (0.08)
Gender: Woman		-0.24* (0.14)		-0.26** (0.13)
Gender: Non-binary		0.51 (1.52)		0.51 (1.55)
Age		0.00 (0.00)		0.00 (0.00)
Race: Black		0.40 (0.38)		0.44 (0.38)
Race: Hispanic		0.57 (0.35)		0.59* (0.35)
Race: White		0.83** (0.34)		0.85** (0.34)
Race: Multiracial		0.63 (0.39)		0.70* (0.42)
Race: Other		0.63 (0.51)		0.58 (0.54)
Income		0.00 (0.07)		0.00 (0.07)
Education		0.07 (0.05)		0.07 (0.05)
Religiosity		-0.04*** (0.01)		-0.04*** (0.01)
Redrawn constituents		-0.12 (0.10)		-0.14 (0.10)
State Leg. Redistricting X Redistricting Knowledge			-0.57** (0.29)	-0.65*** (0.23)
Constant	2.97*** (0.07)	2.62*** (0.47)	2.87*** (0.08)	2.46*** (0.48)
Num.Obs.	722	637	722	637
R2	0.035	0.119	0.044	0.129
Std.Errors	by: state	by: state	by: state	by: state

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

NOTE: Reference categories: Election Result – Copartisan Won; State Leg. Redistricting – Commission.
CES survey weights are included in all models.

Figure 3 in the manuscript displays comparisons in public support for congressional redistricting by respondents' states' redistricting process. Table A3 displays the tabular mean comparisons.

Table A3: Difference of Means – Redistricting Type

Dependent Variable	Commission	State Leg.	Diff. of Means	P-value
Satisfied	2.798	2.631	0.167	0.089*
Fairness	2.146	2.002	0.144	0.055*

Figure 4 in the manuscript displays comparisons in public support for congressional redistricting by respondents' states' redistricting process, subset by respondent redistricting knowledge. Table A4 displays the tabular mean comparisons for respondents who correctly identify their states' redistricting process.

Table A4: Difference of Means – Redistricting Type (Knowledgeable Respondents)

Dependent Variable	Commission	State Leg.	Diff. of Means	P-value
Satisfied	3.185	2.465	0.720	0.001***
Fairness	2.471	1.942	0.529	0.001***

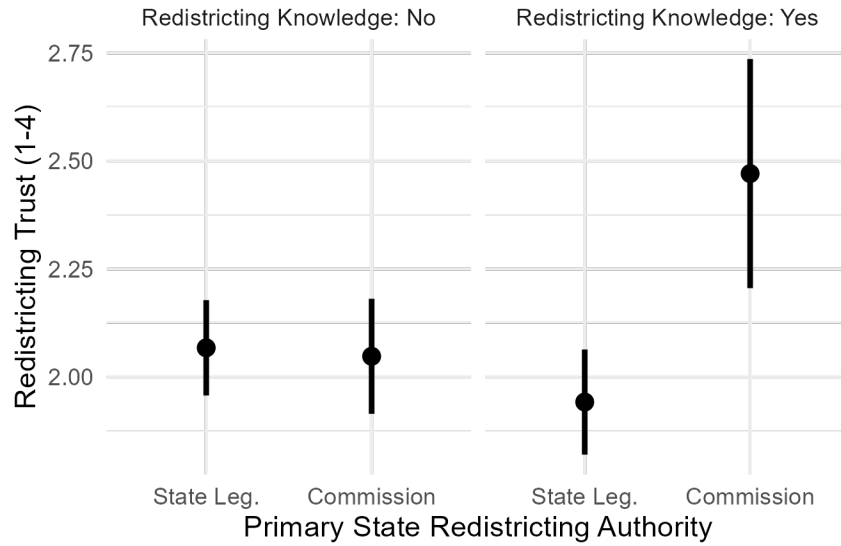
Figure 6 in the manuscript displays comparisons in public support for congressional redistricting by respondents' congressional district electoral outcomes. Table A5 displays the tabular mean comparisons for whether respondents' co-partisan candidate won in the 2022 general election.

Table A5: Difference of Means – Election Result

Dependent Variable	Co-Partisan Won	Co-Partisan Lost	Diff. of Means	P-value
Satisfied	3.010	2.328	0.682	0.000***
Fairness	2.313	1.818	0.495	0.000***

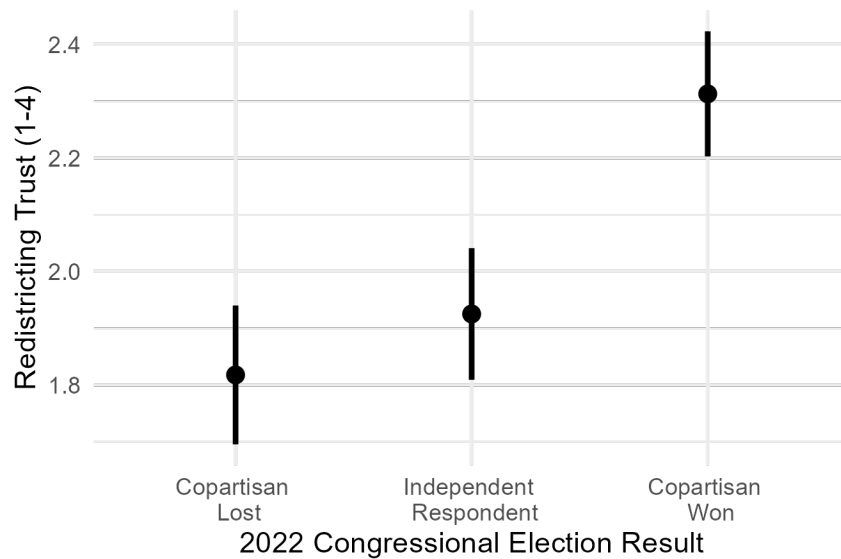
We replicated the main analysis, using trust in redistricting fairness as the dependent variable rather than redistricting satisfaction. Results do not change

Figure A1: Public Trust in Congressional Redistricting by Process and Knowledge



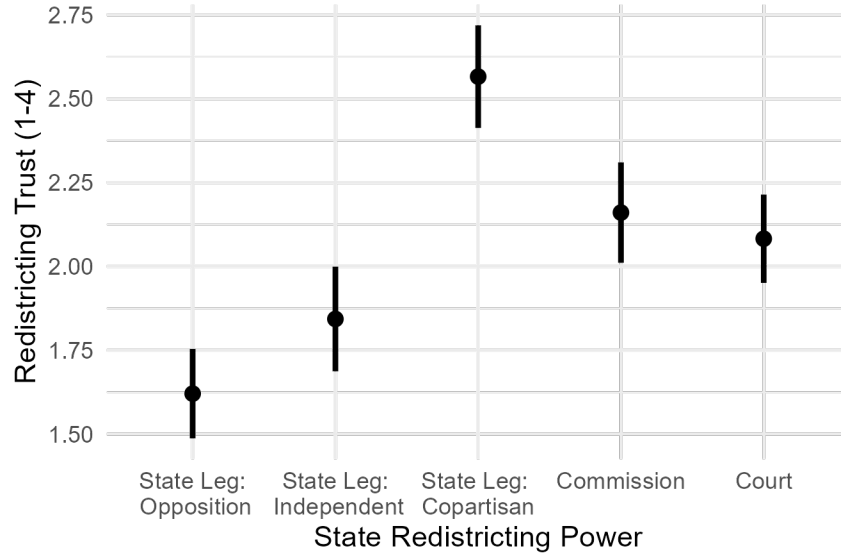
NOTE: Figure displays mean trust ratings across groups. 95% confidence intervals surround point estimates.

Figure A2: Public Trust in Congressional Redistricting by Electoral Results



NOTE: Figure displays mean trust ratings across groups. 95% confidence intervals surround point estimates.

Figure A3: Public Trust in Congressional Redistricting by 2022 Map Drawer



NOTE: Figure displays mean trust ratings across groups. 95% confidence intervals surround point estimates.

Table A6: Regression Results – Fairness DV

	DV: Redistricting Fairness (1-4 Scale)			
	1	2	3	4
Election Result: Copartisan Lost	-0.43*** (0.08)	-0.40*** (0.11)	-0.43*** (0.08)	-0.40*** (0.11)
Election Result: Ind Respondent	-0.30** (0.12)	-0.28** (0.13)	-0.30** (0.12)	-0.28** (0.13)
State Leg. Redistricting	0.02 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.13)	0.14 (0.14)	0.09 (0.17)
Redistricting Knowledge: Yes	0.02 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.11)	0.37** (0.17)	0.32* (0.19)
State Leg. Redistricting X Redistricting Knowledge			-0.45** (0.21)	-0.48** (0.23)
Constant	2.26*** (0.10)	2.29*** (0.35)	2.18*** (0.10)	2.16*** (0.36)
Demographic Covariates	No	Yes	No	Yes
Std.Errors	by: state	by: state	by: state	by: state
Num.Obs.	685	609	685	609
R2	0.038	0.096	0.047	0.106

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

NOTE: Reference categories: Election Result – Copartisan Won; State Leg. Redistricting – Commission. CES survey weights are included in all models.

We replicated the main analysis, using different categorizations for types of redistricting. First, rather than map drawing authority (commission / state legislature), we classified states by 2022 map drawing institution (commission / state legislature / court). Results do not change.

Figure A4: Public Support for Congressional Redistricting by Process and Knowledge



NOTE: Figure displays mean support ratings across groups. 95% confidence intervals surround point estimates.

Table A7: Regression Results – Alternative Redistricting Classification

DV: Redistricting Satisfaction (1-5 Scale)		
	1	2
Election Result: Copartisan Lost	-0.62*** (0.14)	-0.62*** (0.17)
Election Result: Ind Respondent	-0.28* (0.15)	-0.29** (0.14)
Court Redistricting	0.22 (0.14)	0.01 (0.18)
State Leg. Redistricting	0.28** (0.12)	0.16 (0.18)
Redistricting Knowledge: Yes	0.50* (0.29)	0.41* (0.22)
Court Redistricting X Redistricting Knowledge	-0.33 (0.38)	-0.29 (0.33)
State Leg. Redistricting X Redistricting Knowledge	-0.82** (0.33)	-0.81*** (0.27)
Constant	2.79*** (0.07)	2.38*** (0.49)
Demographic Covariates	No	Yes
Num.Obs.	722	637
R2	0.054	0.135

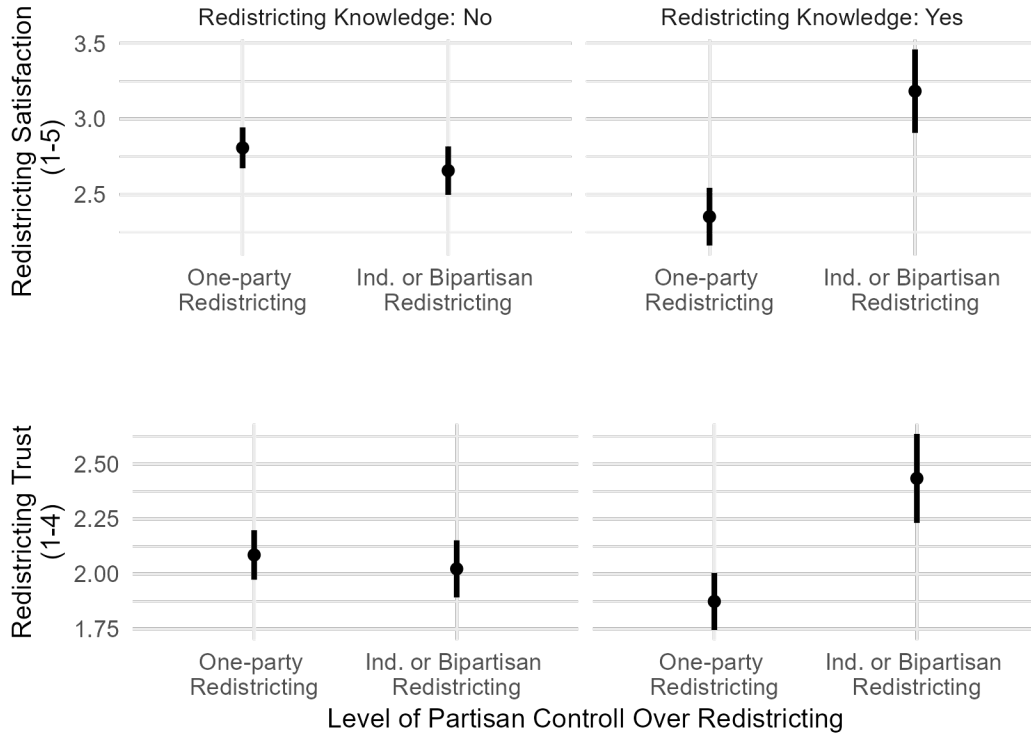
* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

NOTE: Reference categories: Election Result – Copartisan Won; Redistricting – Commission.

NOTE: Reference categories: Election Result – Copartisan Won; State Leg. Redistricting – Commission.
CES survey weights are included in all models.

Second, we classified states by whether redistricting authority falls to a singular partisan entity: one-party controlled redistricting vs. independent / citizen / nonpartisan / bipartisan redistricting. Results are quite similar to what we report in figures 3 and 4 in the manuscript. Amongst respondents who are able to identify their states redistricting system, one-party controlled redistricting is associated with meaningfully lower satisfaction ratings.

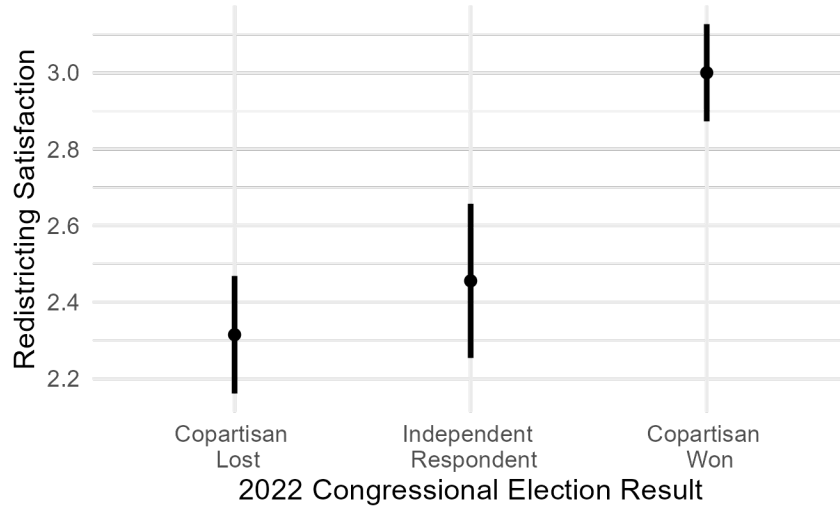
Figure A5: Public Support for Congressional Redistricting by Partisan Control and Knowledge



NOTE: Figure displays mean support ratings across groups. 95% confidence intervals surround point estimates.

Figure 6 in the manuscript classifies respondents who identify as Independents but lean towards one party as Independents. We re-classify leaners as partisans and replicate this analysis in Figure A6.

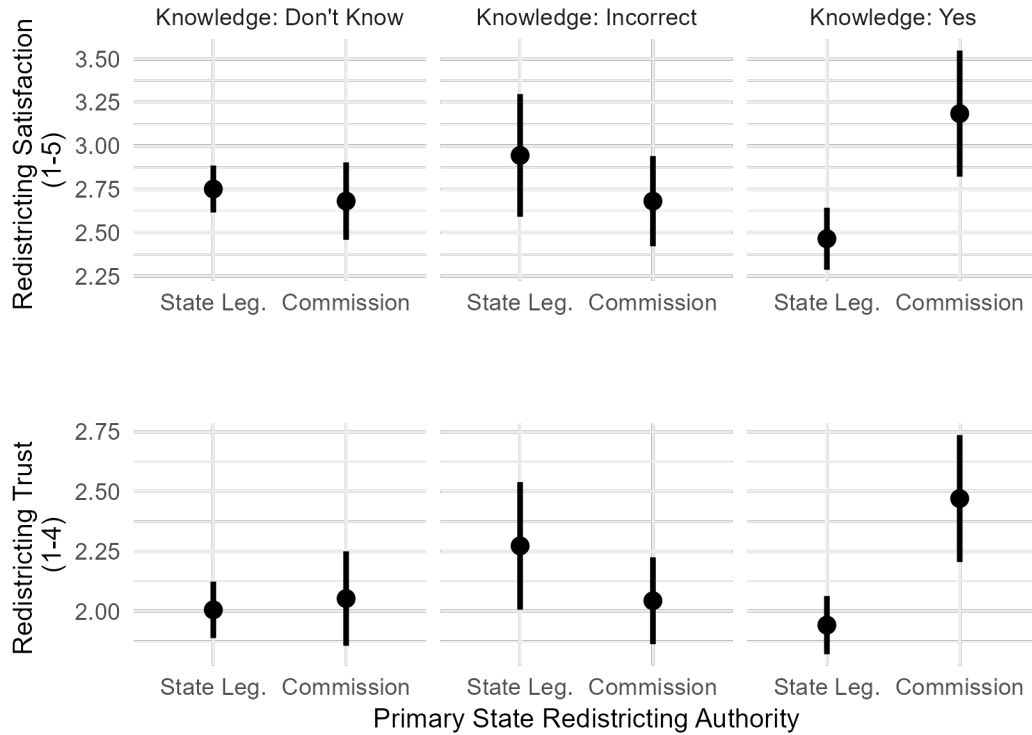
Figure A6: Public Support for Cong. Redistricting by Electoral Results – Sorted Leaners



NOTE: Figure displays mean satisfaction ratings across groups. 95% confidence intervals surround point estimates.

Figure 4 in the manuscript groups together respondents who answered the redistricting knowledge question incorrectly with those who answered *don't know*. We separate out these categories below and rerun the analysis. Results do not meaningfully change; a statistically significant difference in support for redistricting between respondents in state legislative states and commission states only emerges for knowledgeable respondents.

Figure A7: Public Support for Congressional Redistricting by Process and Knowledge – Three Knowledge Categories



NOTE: Figure displays mean support ratings across groups. 95% confidence intervals surround point estimates.

Tables and A8 and A9 display regression analysis with ordered logistic regression for each of the dependent variables. Results match those displayed in Table 1 and Table A6.

Table A8: Ordered Logistic Regression Results – Satisfaction DV

DV: Redistricting Satisfaction (1-5 Scale)				
	1	2	3	4
Election Result: Copartisan Lost	-0.89*** (0.18)	-0.92*** (0.20)	-0.88*** (0.19)	-0.92*** (0.20)
Election Result: Ind Respondent	-0.35** (0.15)	-0.21 (0.20)	-0.36** (0.15)	-0.20 (0.20)
State Leg. Redistricting	0.00 (0.15)	-0.06 (0.18)	0.22 (0.18)	0.20 (0.21)
Redistricting Knowledge: Yes	-0.08 (0.15)	-0.20 (0.17)	0.59* (0.31)	0.58* (0.35)
State Leg. Redistricting X Redistricting Knowledge			-0.86** (0.35)	-1.00** (0.39)
Demographic Covariates	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num.Obs.	722	637	722	637

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

NOTE: Reference categories: Election Result – Copartisan Won; State Leg. Redistricting – Commission. CES survey weights are included in all models.

Table A9: Ordered Logistic Regression Results – Fairness DV

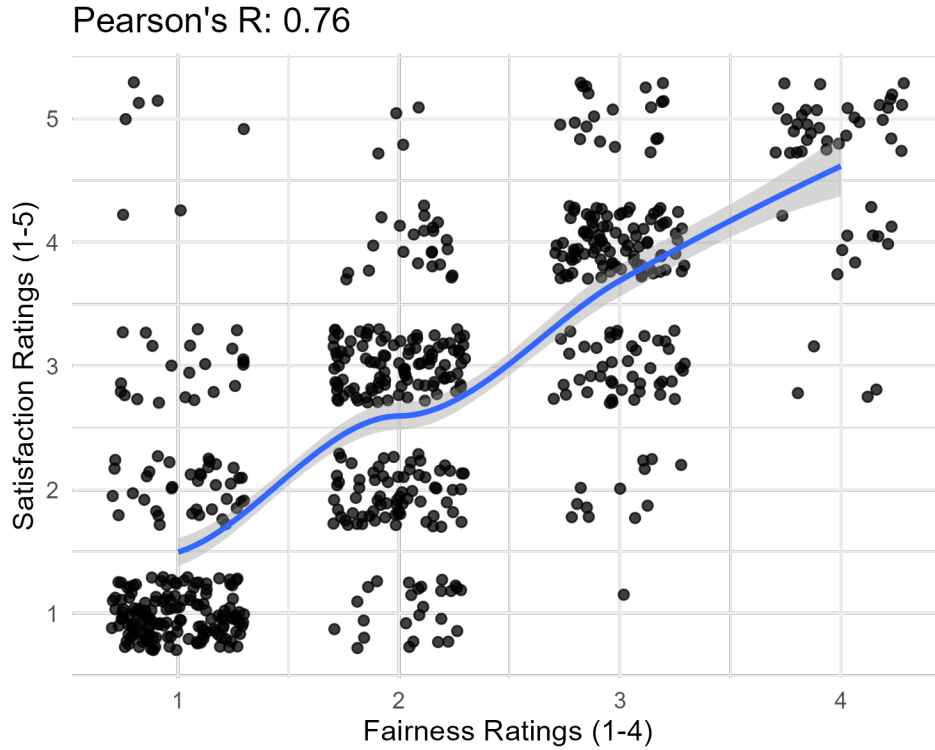
DV: Redistricting Fairness (1-4 Scale)				
	1	2	3	4
Election Result: Copartisan Lost	-0.84*** (0.19)	-0.81*** (0.20)	-0.85*** (0.19)	-0.83*** (0.20)
Election Result: Ind Respondent	-0.59*** (0.16)	-0.35 (0.22)	-0.59*** (0.16)	-0.35 (0.22)
State Leg. Redistricting	0.03 (0.16)	-0.11 (0.19)	0.28 (0.19)	0.18 (0.22)
Redistricting Knowledge: Yes	0.03 (0.15)	-0.08 (0.17)	0.75** (0.31)	0.76** (0.35)
State Leg. Redistricting X Redistricting Knowledge			-0.93*** (0.36)	-1.09*** (0.39)
Demographic Covariates	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num.Obs.	685	609	685	609

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

NOTE: Reference categories: Election Result – Copartisan Won; State Leg. Redistricting – Commission. CES survey weights are included in all models.

Figure A8 displays a scatterplot of the two dependent variables – redistricting satisfaction and redistricting trust – along with Pearson’s correlation coefficient.

Figure A8: Scatterplot of Dependent Variables



NOTE: Figure displays a scatterplot with jittered points to show scale, along with a LOESS line with 95% confidence intervals.

Table A10 displays the results of regression analysis aimed at identifying predictors of divergence on the dependent variables. The dependent variable in this analysis was created by 1) rescaling the two dependent variable to range from zero to one and 2) calculating the absolute distance between these measures for each respondent.

Table A10: Regression Results – DV Divergence

DV Divergence (0-1 Scale)	
Democratic Respondent	-0.02 (0.02)
Independent Respondent	-0.01 (0.02)
Ideology	0.02* (0.01)
Gender: Woman	0.01 (0.01)
Gender: Non-binary	0.23** (0.10)
Age	0.00 (0.00)
Race: Black	0.02 (0.05)
Race: Hispanic	-0.01 (0.05)
Race: White	0.00 (0.04)
Race: Multiracial	0.00 (0.07)
Race: Other	0.00 (0.06)
Income	-0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.00 (0.01)
Religiosity	0.00 (0.00)
Redrawn constituents	-0.01 (0.01)
Constant	0.18*** (0.07)
Num.Obs.	579
R2	0.041

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table A11 displays the results of OLS regressions looking at the interaction between electoral results and respondents' redistricting knowledge. We report a meaningful interaction effect, wherein respondents with knowledge about their state's redistricting process react more negatively to a co-partisan losing the 2022 congressional election. Considering redistricting knowledge indicates greater political awareness, this result makes sense and does not change the conclusions reached in the manuscript.

Table A11: Regression Results – Election Result and Resp. Knowledge Interaction

DV: Redistricting Satisfaction (1-5 Scale)		
	1	2
Election Result: Copartisan Lost	-0.47*** (0.10)	-0.44*** (0.12)
Election Result: Ind Respondent	-0.26* (0.14)	-0.25* (0.15)
Redistricting Knowledge: Yes	0.11 (0.17)	0.10 (0.18)
Copartisan Lost X Redistricting Knowledge	-0.52*** (0.18)	-0.50*** (0.17)
Ind. Respondent X Redistricting Knowledge	-0.43** (0.20)	-0.52** (0.24)
Constant	2.96*** (0.08)	3.07*** (0.37)
Demographic Covariates	No	Yes
Num.Obs.	722	637
R2	0.062	0.118
Std.Errors	by: state	by: state

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

NOTE: Reference categories: Election Result – Copartisan Won; State Leg. Redistricting – Commission.

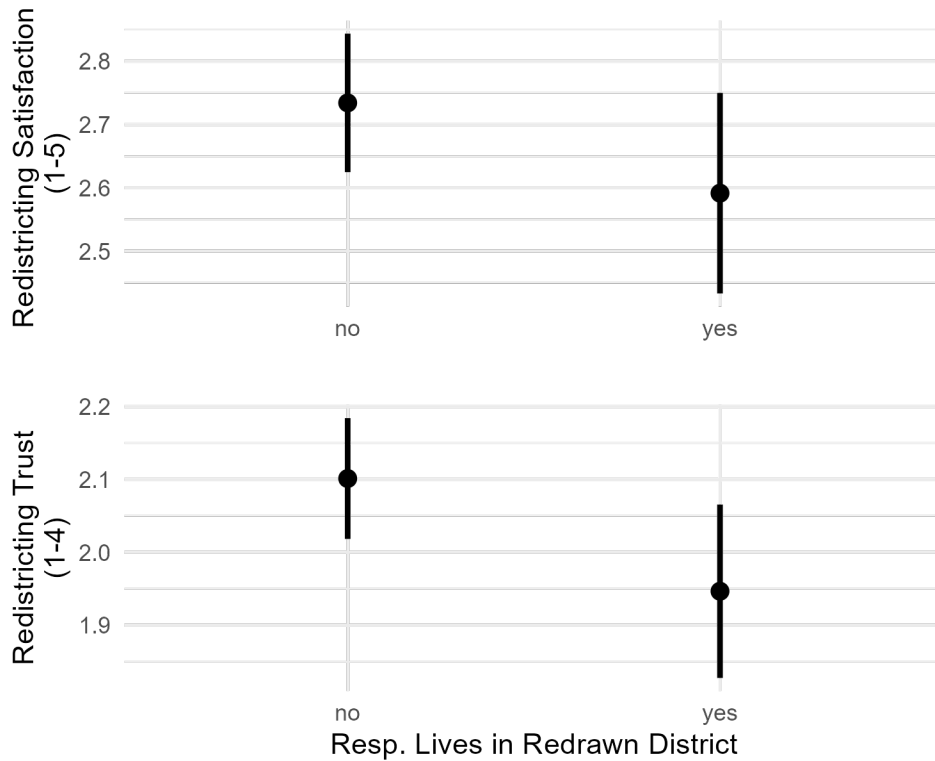
Figure 8 in the manuscript displays comparisons in public support for congressional redistricting by respondents' states' 2022 map drawer. Table A12 displays the tabular comparisons with Tukey corrections to account for multiple comparisons.

Table A12: ANOVA Comparisons with Tukey Correction Results for Figure 8

Contrast	Diff. of Means	Adjusted Pr(> t)
Opposition-Copartisan	-1.426	0.000***
Independent-Copartisan	-0.887	0.000***
Commission-Copartisan	-0.557	0.000***
Court-Copartisan	-0.635	0.000***
Independent-Opposition	0.539	0.002***
Commission-Opposition	0.869	0.000***
Court-Opposition	0.791	0.000***
Commission-Independent	0.330	0.118
Court-Independent	0.252	0.364
Court-Commission	-0.078	0.975

Respondents' views on redistricting are likely influenced by whether they live in a redrawn congressional district. The models presented in the manuscript control for this variable. Figure A9 displays support for redistricting based on respondents' 2020 redistricting status, and Table A13 displays the results of difference of means tests.

Figure A9: Public Support for Cong. Redistricting by 2020 Redistricting Status



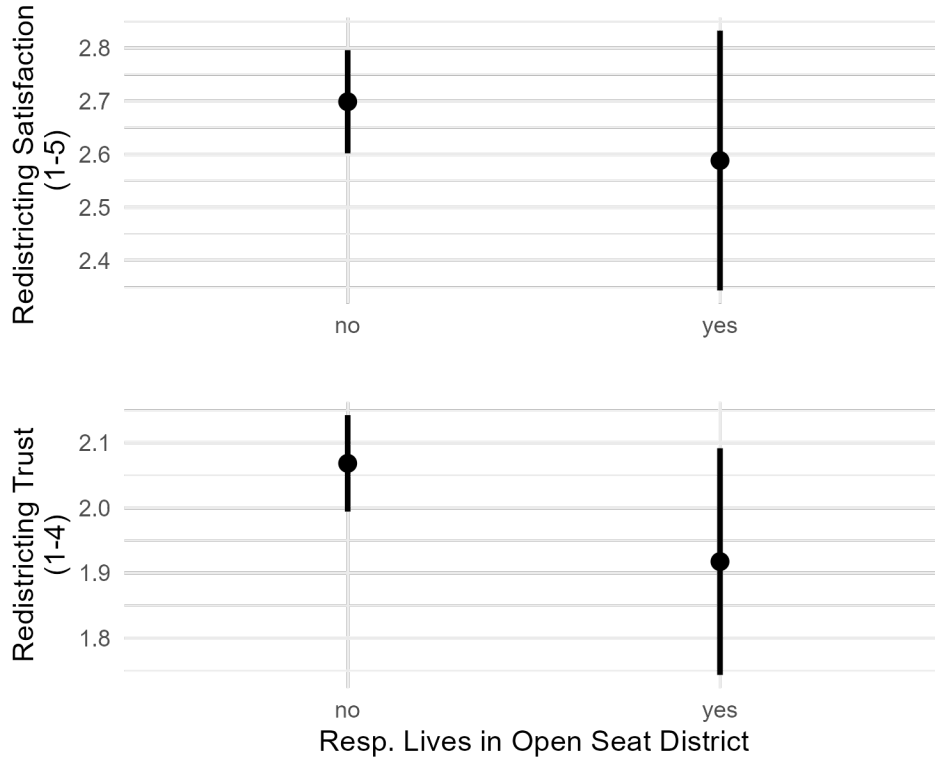
NOTE: Figure displays mean support ratings across groups. 95% confidence intervals surround point estimates.

Table A13: Difference of Means – 2020 Redistricting Status

Dependent Variable	Same Cong. District	New Cong. District	Diff. of Means	P-value
Satisfied	2.734	2.592	0.143	0.147
Fairness	2.101	1.947	0.155	0.037**

We also explore whether respondents' views on redistricting are influenced by whether they live in a district with an open seat in the 2022 congressional elections. Figure A10 displays support for redistricting based on respondents' 2022 open seat status, and Table A14 displays the results of difference of means tests. Table A15 replicates the original analysis, controlling for open seat as a variable.

Figure A10: Public Support for Cong. Redistricting by 2022 Open Seat Status



NOTE: Figure displays mean support ratings across groups. 95% confidence intervals surround point estimates.

Table A14: Difference of Means – 2022 Open Seat Status

Dependent Variable	Not Open Seat	Open Seat	Diff. of Means	P-value
Satisfied	2.699	2.588	0.111	0.411
Fairness	2.068	1.918	0.151	0.121

Table A15: Regression Analysis with Open Seat Control

	DV: Redistricting Satisfaction (1-5 Scale)			
	1	2	3	4
Election Result: Copartisan Lost	-0.67*** (0.10)	-0.64*** (0.12)	-0.66*** (0.10)	-0.63*** (0.12)
Election Result: Ind Respondent	-0.44*** (0.11)	-0.48*** (0.11)	-0.45*** (0.11)	-0.49*** (0.12)
State Leg. Redistricting	-0.08 (0.14)	-0.13 (0.15)	0.16 (0.14)	0.10 (0.16)
Redistricting Knowledge: Yes	-0.15 (0.16)	-0.15 (0.14)	0.45 (0.29)	0.41* (0.24)
Ideology		0.14* (0.08)		0.14 (0.08)
Gender: Woman		-0.14 (0.11)		-0.15 (0.10)
Gender: Non-binary		0.11 (1.60)		0.14 (1.60)
Age		-0.01 (0.00)		-0.01 (0.00)
Race: Black		-0.06 (0.31)		-0.03 (0.31)
Race: Hispanic		-0.06 (0.24)		-0.07 (0.23)
Race: White		0.16 (0.29)		0.18 (0.28)
Race: Multiracial		-0.37 (0.44)		-0.28 (0.46)
Race: Other		-0.09 (0.41)		-0.12 (0.39)
Income		0.00 (0.05)		0.01 (0.05)
Education		0.04 (0.04)		0.04 (0.04)
Religiosity		-0.03** (0.01)		-0.03*** (0.01)
Redrawn constituents		-0.12 (0.11)		-0.15 (0.10)
Open Seat		-0.04 (0.16)		-0.05 (0.15)
State Leg. Redistricting X Redistricting Knowledge			-0.80** (0.32)	-0.75*** (0.28)
Constant	3.13*** (0.09)	3.27*** (0.37)	2.99*** (0.10)	3.12*** (0.38)
Num.Obs.	722	637	722	637
R2	0.054	0.110	0.071	0.125
Std.Errors	by: state	by: state	by: state	by: state

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Figure A11: Timing of post-election CES survey

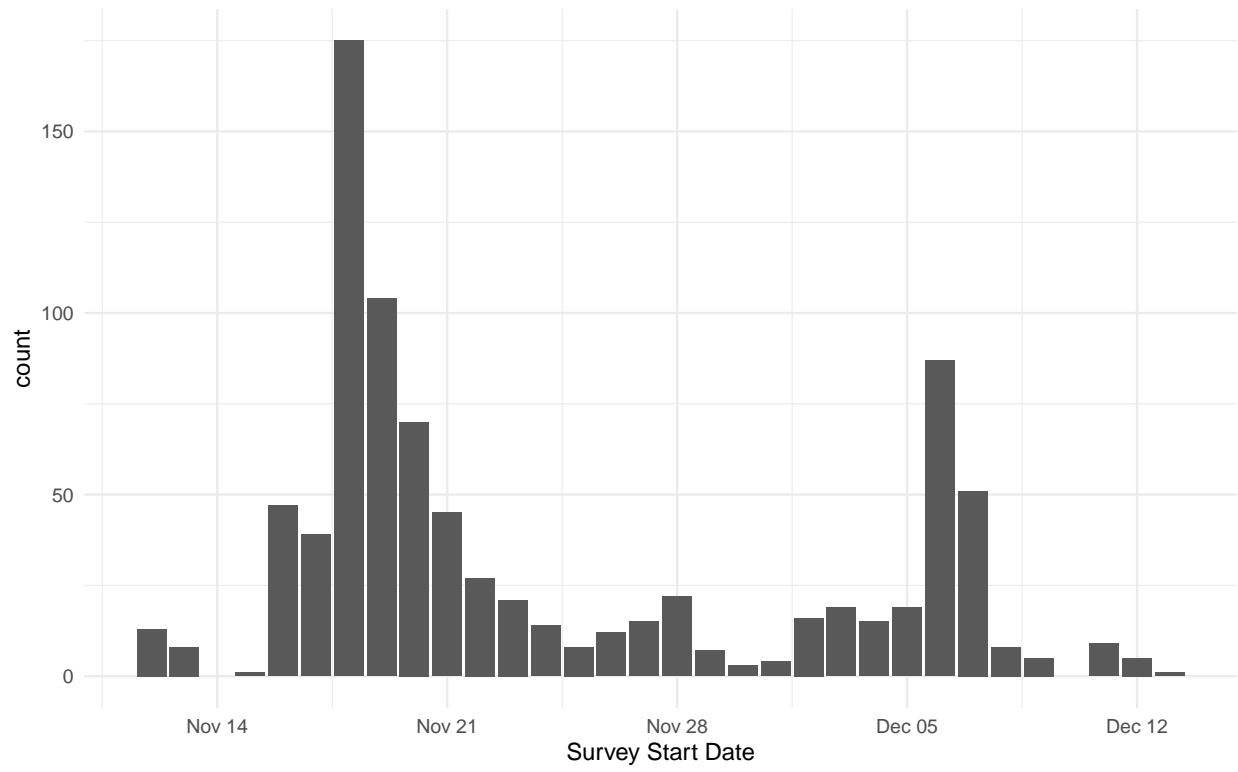


Table A16: State Redistricting Classifications

State	Redistricting Authority	2022 Map Drawer
Arizona	Commission	Commission
California	Commission	Commission
Colorado	Commission	Commission
Hawaii	Commission	Commission
Idaho	Commission	Commission
Michigan	Commission	Commission
Montana	Commission	Commission
New Jersey	Commission	Commission
New York	Commission	Court
Virginia	Commission	Court
Washington	Commission	Commission
Alabama	State Leg.	State Leg.
Arkansas	State Leg.	State Leg.
Connecticut	State Leg.	Court
Florida	State Leg.	State Leg.
Georgia	State Leg.	State Leg.
Illinois	State Leg.	State Leg.
Indiana	State Leg.	State Leg.
Iowa	State Leg.	State Leg.
Kansas	State Leg.	State Leg.
Kentucky	State Leg.	State Leg.
Louisiana	State Leg.	State Leg.
Maine	State Leg.	State Leg.
Missouri	State Leg.	State Leg.
Maryland	State Leg.	State Leg.
Massachusetts	State Leg.	State Leg.
Minnesota	State Leg.	Court
Mississippi	State Leg.	State Leg.
Nebraska	State Leg.	State Leg.
Nevada	State Leg.	State Leg.
New Hampshire	State Leg.	Court
New Mexico	State Leg.	State Leg.
North Carolina	State Leg.	Court
Ohio	State Leg.	State Leg.
Oklahoma	State Leg.	State Leg.
Oregon	State Leg.	State Leg.
Pennsylvania	State Leg.	Court
Rhode Island	State Leg.	State Leg.
South Carolina	State Leg.	State Leg.
Tennessee	State Leg.	State Leg.
Texas	State Leg.	State Leg.
Utah	State Leg.	State Leg.
West Virginia	State Leg.	State Leg.
Wisconsin	State Leg.	Court
Rhode Island	State Leg.	State Leg.
Alaska	Single District	NA
Delaware	Single District	NA
North Dakota	Single District	NA
South Dakota	Single District	NA
Vermont	Single District	NA
Wyoming	Single District	NA

Table A17: Sample Political and Redistricting Statistics

		N	%
Party Identification	Democrats	375	37.5
	Independents	345	34.5
	Republicans	248	24.8
	NA	32	3.2
Partisan District Match (2018)	Copartisan	378	37.8
	Opposition	243	24.3
	Independent	345	34.5
Redistricting Type (Initial)	Commission	313	31.3
	Single_Seat	14	1.4
	State_Leg	670	67.0
	NA	3	0.3
Redistricting Type (Final)	Commission	217	21.7
	Court	225	22.5
	Single_Seat	14	1.4
	State_Leg	541	54.1
	NA	3	0.3
Redistricting Knowledge	no	630	63.0
	yes	352	35.2
	NA	18	1.8